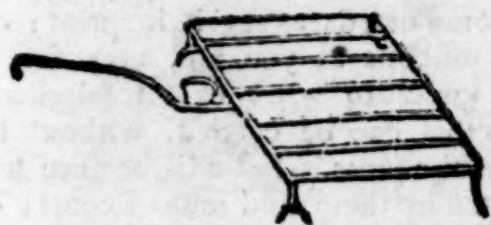


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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THE MONSTERS.

TO THE READERS OF THE REGISTER.

*Bolt-court, Fleet-street,
25. Dec., 1833.*

MY FRIENDS,

ACCORDING to the usual rules applicable to such matters, and, indeed, according to the dictates of reason and common sense, it would be wrong for me to occupy a large space in this political publication of mine, with matters relating to myself; and which matters, according to the ordinary course of affairs, would not be interesting to you, in a degree sufficient to warrant my obtruding these private affairs upon your attention, and employing a space in my publication which ought to be devoted to matters of public interest.

But, my friends, it so happens; a long train of circumstances and events has made it be so, that my private as well as public character are become identified with great political principles; that those principles must be affected in the estimate which the world will entertain of them, if the character of the man who may be said to stand at the head of those principles be destroyed, or in any material degree enfeebled or impaired. It is in vain that impudent and profligate parsons tell their flocks that it is their precepts and not their example that the flocks have to follow: the flocks will look at the example; and, in spite of every thing that the parson can say, bad example in him will actually destroy his good precepts. This is notorious; it is not only notorious in England, Scotland, and Ireland, but

in the United States of America (the only other country in the world that I care a straw about), that millions of men, I may boldly say millions of men, describe their political principles, and opinions, by saying that they are those of Cobbett; no matter, for our present purpose, whether our principles be right or wrong: this does not alter the fact: in consequence of the extraordinary continuation of health, strength of body, industry, perseverance, disregard of worldly goods, when put in competition with what I deem my public duty; in consequence of all these, with which it has pleased God to bless me; with an aptitude to study and to dispatch of business and a real love of labour, together with habits of early rising under all circumstances, and an abstinence from all enjoyments calculated to lessen the amount of my labour: in consequence of all these, in operation during forty years, embracing the two countries of America and England, there has been a *generation* grown up to manhood, another generation born and grown up to manhood, and the children of that generation the readers of my writings, and devoted to me as far as an adoption of my sentiments and an admiration of my labours and my character can produce devotion. Smite me, and the whole of these millions feel the blow.

This, is, therefore, not an ordinary case; and it is no more intrusion upon my readers for me to enter upon the subject which I am going to enter upon, than it would be egotism in a king to issue a declaration or proclamation or manifesto justifying his character and conduct in the eyes of the world.... Most curious: while my eldest son was writing the last sentence from my dictation, Mr. Dean came up stairs, with a "ship letter," to ask me if I would pay the postage. I ordered him to do it, and opened the letter. It is from a Doctor of Medicine at New York, and begins with these words: "Dear Sir, I, a stranger to you, take the liberty to

[Printed by W. Cobbett, Johnson's-court.]

O

"address a few lines to you, by way of
 "congratulation, inquiry, &c. First, I
 "have to state that it is a source of
 "great satisfaction to every friend of
 "true liberty, that it has pleased God
 "so long to enable you to wield your
 "pen against the enemies of the hap-
 "piness of mankind. Your vindication
 "of the poor and oppressed deserves a
 "higher encomium than my poor pen
 "can give."....Then proceeds the long
 letter, relating to several matters upon
 which the writer wishes information, and
 concluding with his name, which is that
 of a most respectable Doctor of Medi-
 cine, but who is personally a stranger
 to me. Again, therefore, I say that this
 is not an ordinary case; again I say,
 smite me, and millions feel the blow;
 and that there has been and yet is, a
 design to smite me, and that in a deadly
 manner, too, and by the most treache-
 rous, unnatural, and base of all human
 means, I well know. I will, when the
 proper time comes, most fully prove this;
 and, in the meanwhile, I will lay before
 you, my friends, a specimen of the dark
 means that have been, and that are to
 be, employed.

It has been begun to be set about
 amongst the lawyers in those their dens
 called the inns of court, that I have been
 an "*impostor*" all my literary life-
 time; that I have put forth a great
 number of books, under my name, and
 that, in fact, I am, at most, only "*part*"
 author of the said books and writings;
 that, in fact, it is my "*CHILDREN*"
 who have written the books, or, at
 least, who have aided me to a very con-
 siderable extent in the making of them,
 while I have been passing these works
 off on the world "*as the sole and genuine*"
 "productions of myself, and have there-
 "by acquired a high character in the
 "estimation of the public as a person
 "of super-eminent talent." This is
 the story that the ruffians with rusty
 camlet gowns on their backs, with
 brief bags as empty as their skulls, and
 with skulls covered with old gray mares'
 tails, are circulating about in the stews
 in the neighbourhood of the Temple and
 other dirty holes in the vicinage of
 Chancery-lane.

You will see, my friends, that from
 the very nature of this blow, it is in-
 tended to be deadly. Well, say you,
 but it is not public; nobody would be-
 lieve it if it were made public; stop
 till some one dares say it in print: oh,
 no! millions as you are, very few of
 you know to what extent falsehoods
 like this can be carried, without the
 aid of the press. Let a lie be once well
 planted in these said inns of court; let
 the design be there formed to destroy
 the character of a man of any eminence;
 and if that man hold his tongue, that
 man's character is destroyed. This
 might not be an easy matter in my case;
 but, if it would not be so easy as in the
 case of another man, the consequences
 would be more extensive and fatal, than
 in the case of another man. You are
 not aware, my friends, that a man can
 be destroyed without publishing any-
 thing against him, if these mares'-tailed
 harpies set to work upon him. There
 are men of perfect integrity and honour
 amongst the lawyers (and, who would
 be able to pray for mercy on mankind,
 if there were not, among such numbers!);
 but, there is a great swarm of dirty-
 souled creatures who neither know the
 law nor wish to know the law, nor ever
 intended to know the law; but who
 assumed the costume for the sole pur-
 pose of being able to plunder the peo-
 ple. The crocodiles on the banks of
 the Nile are not so ferocious nor are
 they so numerous as these, who are
 constantly engaged in a race of villany;
 constantly trying to out-strip each other
 in getting into the good graces of cor-
 ruption; some of them less stupid than
 others, but all of them too *lazy* to
 study; too lazy and base to pursue the
 honest course of toil and frugality, and
 thus raise themselves to eminence; too
 greedy to be content with the scanty
 earnings permitted by their laziness;
 luxurious as well as lazy, creating wants
 for themselves, to satisfy which wants,
 corruption, and corruption alone, can
 furnish the means.

It is amongst dirty-souled creatures
 of this sort; lazy, shifty, arrogant, con-
 ceited, presumptuous; cursed at once
 with "meanness that soars and pride

that licks the dust"; it is amongst monsters (for I will not call them men) that the story has been hatched, that I am not the author of my own books: that I am an impostor, who ought to be despised by the nation.

Before I proceed further to remark on the conduct of these monsters, and to speak of other matters closely connected therewith, I think it right, because it is just, to say, that I have no reason to believe that these monsters have received any encouragement from the Government, confining that word to those who are usually called the Ministers and the officers immediately under them. But this is not the way that the wages of corruption and villany are obtained. The Government does not send to a ruffian to offer him *so much* if he will do such or such a deed; for instance, if he will so contrive it that *Cobbett's Register shall be crushed by some crafty legal device*; or that the author shall be turned out of Parliament. This is not the way the thing is done. The suitors of corruption first give evidence of their good intention towards corruption; of their zeal and devotedness in her cause; next, they do some damnable thing against somebody, no matter who; and then, they do not go themselves to demand their wages; but, they have some one or more of the initiated to introduce them to the charming old dame; they enter her embraces, and they are damned for life and to all eternity.

It is with monsters like these, that this story of my being an impostor-author has originated. And, now, let us have a statement of the facts; let us see whether it be possible to find one man in this whole world capable of believing the story of these greedy mares'-tailed ragabonds? who, observe, are carrying the story about on all the circuits; are spreading it about by letters resembling those of the Marquis of Blandford to Carson Slapp; a second chapter of the confessions of Thomas Goodman; in short, who are spreading the lie as effectually, and more effectually than if it were inserted in all the newspapers. Let us then, see how the facts stand; and

whether, leaving my assertions out of the question, it be possible for any man in his senses to believe, that my "children" are to be looked upon as part authors of my books. Let us take the books one by one:

1. Was a pamphlet written in London and published by Mr. Ridgway, when he lived in York-street, St. James's-square, without any name of the author to it; it was called the "Soldier's Friend": I have not a copy of it, and have not had for many years; but, at any rate, it was written before I was married, and therefore the "children" could not have assisted in that. "The childthre," as the Irish "*peasants*" call their progeny, could have had no hand in *that*.
2. The next work was "*LE MAITRE ANGLAIS*;" which has seldom been surpassed in point of extent of circulation by any book in the world; edition upon edition have been published by the same persons at Paris; two or three editions of it published there by the same booksellers at the same time; published in all the capitals of Europe; importations of it constantly coming to England; first published in Philadelphia one year before the oldest of "the childthre" was born; written in the French language, observe, in about three years after I was wearing a soldier's coat; and standing its ground against all other works of the same description, for now nearly forty years. It is for this work, particularly, that I see myself mentioned in a new French dictionary "*des hommes celebres*"; and again I say, "*the childthre*" could not have assisted in making this book, before the oldest of them was born.
3. "*PORCUPINE'S WORKS*," twelve volumes, containing numerous distinct pamphlets, and still more numerous essays, for which Mr. Wyndham, in his place in Parliament, declared me worthy of a statue of gold; all written and published in America, before the

oldest of "*the childthre*" was four years of age. The mares'-tailed devils will hardly pretend that "*the childthre*" could have had much hand in these twelve volumes. It is said that the old virago, QUEEN BESS, wrote famous letters when she was only four years old; but, notwithstanding the surprising "march of intellect," it will require something more than the precedent afforded by this surprising anecdote of literary precocity, to make the world believe that "*the childthre*" had much to do with the making of these twelve volumes.

4. "WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER."

Those who have read it for any length of time must be convinced that the writings in this work which profess to come from me are mine, and that they cannot be those of any body else. Only three of "*the childthre*" were born when this work was begun; one of them was five years old, one of them three, and one of them a twelve-month old, at the beginning of this work. Now, I make this positive assertion in the most solemn manner; that, from the beginning of the work to this very day, every one of the articles bearing my name, or, when the name has been accidentally omitted, appearing to be mine, written in the first person and passing for mine, that the whole of these articles are entirely my own. There is one exception; not with regard to any thing to which my name is attached; but, after I came out of prison in 1812, or about six months after that, I, out of regard for my bail, I being held in bonds for seven years, put the *Register* for some time, nominally, into the proprietorship of another person (not one of my family), and he sometimes wrote articles, sometimes in the first person, but *never under my name*. There is another exception, which is, that while I was in Long Island, and "*the childthre*" here, trifling alterations or additions were made,

to meet circumstances of which I could not be aware. But, with these exceptions, I solemnly declare that neither "*the childthre*" nor any other person ever contributed the knowledge of one fact, the conception of one thought, the furnishing of one description, the formation of one sentence or member of a sentence, in the writings of these articles of the *Register*, from the beginning of it to this day. I suppose the mares' tails do not mean contribution in the way of amanuensis, because, in that case, they have all contributed in that way more or less, except two of them, and those two never did any thing in this way except in one single instance each.

5. "PAPER AGAINST GOLD;"

written when the oldest child was thirteen years old, and all the rest younger of course. It was first published in the *Register*; some trifling additional part has been written since, but not a word contributed by them, even in the way of amanuensis.

6. "YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN AMERICA;"

written while all "*the childthre*" were in England, except the first part, which consists of my journal or diary for a year. The journal of Mr. HULME, making the third part of this work, professes to be his journal and written by him; and, as to the rest of the work, none of them had any more to do with it than they have had to do with any of the law-books of Mr. Chitty, or any other eminent lawyer.

7. "ENGLISH GRAMMAR."

This book was written in Long Island, in the year 1818. All "*the childthre*" were in England at the time, except my eldest son and James Cobbett. James was then fourteen years old, and could not spell, and I had never suffered him to be attempted to be taught by any body. It was now, according to my notion, time for him to begin; and he began by making a copy of my manuscript of this grammar, which manuscript, first corrected by me

was sent to the press at New York, I correcting the proofs from that press, and sending my original manuscript to England; and, lest that should miss at any time, sending also the corrected proofs of the printed copy at New York. It was impossible; literally impossible, that *any* one should partake with me in the composing of this book; it was impossible to put it to paper from dictation, when every sentence required consideration and reconsideration, and when references were everlastingly to be made to different parts of the same book. The fact is, that no one but myself ever contributed one single word to this work.

8. "COTTAGE ECONOMY." The introduction, written at Kensington in July, 1821; the rest of the book written at Worth Lodge, a farmhouse in Sussex, whither I had gone to reside for a time, for the purpose of teaching the youngest son how to go about in the fields and the woods and the lanes; teaching him to ride upon a pony, and to begin to be hardy and strong, and to be enabled to work for his bread, if necessary. He was seven years of age at the time, and could not help me much, in the writing of this book; though I do not deny that Mrs. Brazier, the farmer's wife, did help me a great deal; for she, though then nearly eighty years of age, had brought up forty children and grandchildren, and had it said of her, that she had done more work herself than any woman in Sussex; and that there was not a working man or woman in the parish who had not, first or last, either resided or been fed under her roof; and though she could *neither write nor read*, understood well the making of bread, the brewing of beer, the keeping of cows, the rearing of pigs, the salting of meat, the rearing of poultry, the obtaining of honey, the making of rushes to serve instead of candles; and was able to

teach me, practically, all that I myself did not know touching the subjects upon which I was writing. To her, who is now dead, I thus record my acknowledgments; and would gladly, if I possessed the means, raise a monument to her memory in the churchyard of Worth. There are some parts of this work which have since been added, and James Cobbett, being then in New York, made, by order and at my expense, the inquiries concerning the straw-plait, and wrote to me upon the subject. In the part of the work relating to that matter, I have given him his full due; but, as to any other part of this work, no one but Mrs. Brazier ever gave me any assistance, not excepting even that of amanuensis.

9. "SERMONS;" not a syllable of them ever either contributed or suggested by any person in the world, except by the writers of the Holy Scriptures: not one line of them ever dictated to any body.
10. "FRENCH GRAMMAR." You have only to look at it, to see the next to impossibility of my having derived aid in the writing of any human being in this book. But, to show that "*the childthre*" had nothing to do with it, let the reader attend to these facts: I had been making the notes preparatory to it for several years. I wrote the first (and a considerable) part of it, at the house of my friend, Mr. BLOUNT, at Uphusband in Hampshire; and, all that part was written between three o'clock in the morning and breakfast-time. It being necessary that I should come to London; and it being impossible that a work requiring so much thought, and in the execution of which reputation was so much involved, should be executed unless in a state of abstraction from noise and domestic interruption, I went, taking my youngest son with me (for I never went anywhere, if I could avoid it, without some one of them), to the White Hart Inn, at

Bagshot in Surrey, kept by Mr. MARLIN, whom I had known for a great many years; and there, in a tranquil room, looking out on the garden, and having a mutton-chop every day for dinner, while the little boy was provided with a pony, to ride out at his pleasure with Mr. Marlin's son, I wrote the remainder of this book. So that, this book, one of the greatest labours of my life, was actually written, while not one of "*the childthre*" was under the same roof where the writing was going on, except the aforementioned boy, who was then nine years of age. The mares'-tailed gentlemen might not, of course, *be acquainted with these facts*; but, the facts are undeniable, and could, if necessary, be proved upon oath. You, my indignant friends, who have looked into this book, and have attended to the immense labour and time for thought which it must have occasioned and required: on you I call for those expressions of execration on the heads of these calumniators, which I myself will not use.

II. "PROTESTANT REFORMATION."

Not one fact, thought, sentence, number of sentences, or word proceeding from any other mind or any other pen than my own. The second volume consists, in a great part, of mere compilation; that is to say, of a list of the monasteries and other objects of confiscation by HENRY the EIGHTH and his successors. This list is taken from Bishop TANNER; and the reader will see that it is possible that "*the childthre*" might have performed this work of extracting and copying; but they did not do it: it was done by Father O'CALLAGHAN, to whom I paid, I think, forty sovereigns for the labour.

12. "POOR MAN'S FRIEND," partly written at Mr. Blount's, at Uphusband, partly at an inn at Everley, in Wiltshire, and the rest on my road, I travelling by myself on horseback, from Everley to Bolli-

tree, in Herefordshire. Not one word ever contributed by any body else even in the way of amanuensis. Of course I do not mean to include as my own the passages taken from Puffendorf, Grotius, Bacon, Blackstone, or the other books quoted.

13. "ENGLISH GARDENER." This book is an enlargement of the "American Gardener," written and published by me, two or three years before. It had to be so changed, as to adapt certain parts of it to the English instead of to the American climate; but, these new parts, and the remodelling of the whole, were my own work. In the great principles, which form the real merit of the work, there was no alteration at all to make; and as to the matters of detail and application, one of "*the childthre*" wrote the alteration down from my lips. That child made, under my direction, six little drawings for six plates, relative to grafting, which the engraver himself could have done, from the very plain instructions given in the print. God forbid that I should attempt to undervalue any performance of a child of mine; but would these mares'-tailed vagabonds call this an assistance given to me in being the author of the work? Would they hold forth that I am an impostor-author; a plundering plagiarist, because these six little drawings were furnished by some body else? The sexton has been laughed at for claiming his share of the merit of the sermons of the Dean, because he the sexton rang the bell; but, presumptuous as that was, his share of the sermon was greater than this draughtman's share of the book. I wonder where the vagabond mares'-tailed gentry can have picked up this story! I know that they have promulgated the story, because I have seen it *in writing*, and that, too, positively stated under the hand of a lawyer of one of the inns of court, and a celebrated lawyer, too.

14. "WOODLANDS." This work, the

first number or two written with my own hand; the rest dictated to my then amanuensis, Mr. Riley; not one word of it ever proceeding from any body but myself.

15. "TREATISE ON COBBETT'S CORN." The whole of it dictated, in twenty-two days, at Barn Elms farm, to Mr. Riley.

16. "EMIGRANT'S GUIDE." The whole of it dictated to Mr. Riley by me. To get the original letters of the emigrants, I went into Sussex myself. These three last books were written in the farm-house at Barn Elms farm, with no one of my family living under the roof.

17. "ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN." Not one single word contributed by, or dictated to, any person whatsoever; at least, if there were any dictation upon any particular occasion, I do not recollect it.

18. "MANCHESTER LECTURES." Spoken at Manchester. Written out for the press, by dictation, to a gentleman there, who was so kind as to assist me in that way; and no child of mine within two hundred miles of the spot all the time.

19. "TOUR IN SCOTLAND." All written in Scotland and in Northumberland and Cumberland; sent thence for publication; and no child of mine ever in Scotland or in either of those English counties in their lives.

20. "FRENCH AND ENGLISH DICTIONARY." The plan mine, the superintendence mine, the introductory rules mine; the compilation the work of a very clever Frenchman of the name of Aliva, subject to my correction; and not one single jot of the labour performed by any child of mine.

21. "STEPPING-STONE TO THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR." When I wrote this pretty little thing, which has been so much admired by every body, I little thought that it was to serve as a peg whereon to hang one of the wickedest lies that ever proceeded from the heart of unnatural calumny. The Stepping-

stone has a SPELLING-BOOK *pre-fixed* to it. Every one must know, that I should not spend my time in compiling "A b abs" and "i b ibs;" and therefore, about this spelling-book part, I never gave myself even the trouble to read all through, being quite satisfied that nothing could be put into it that would have any effect upon the Stepping-stone part of the book; that part, therefore, I had nothing to do with; but, as to the Stepping-stone, which is a thing of real utility, I wrote it every word myself, with my own hand, while waiting in town for the trial of 1831; and I do believe that every word of it was written before "the childthre," who were under the same roof, had their eyes fairly open in the morning. "But, this is partly theirs, at any rate." If you mean as property, I never claimed it for a moment, and have formally given them the whole of it; reserving, however, to myself, the equitable right of using the "Stepping-stone" in my own way upon some future occasion.

22. "GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY." This is a work that demanded great labour; great manual labour. The conception was mine; the plan and arrangement were my invention; I paid Mr. Riley a hundred pounds for work done by him towards the body of the book. I paid another hundred pounds for county-maps, to make the reduced plans from. I paid for the engraving of the plans, forty-three in number. I wrote the introduction to the book myself. I made the tables at the end of the book, and particularly the great and laboriously executed statistical table. John Cobbett wrote the histories of the counties and cities; one of his sisters made the copious index. Thus stands this work. Nobody could expect that I should make that index, or compile the little histories of counties and cities; nobody could imagine that my

time would be spent in measuring with a compass the distance of the village churches from the market towns. However, this manual assistance I had; and, have I kept the fruit of the toil to myself? No: in addition to all my other expenses on account of this book, I added that of an edition of two thousand copies of the book, the whole of which copies, together with the copyright, I regularly conveyed to John Cobbett as a gift, or in payment for the aforesaid assistance, if the mares'-tails will so have it, leaving to him to give his sister her share.

I have been particular in stating these things, because the object of these infamous slanderers appears to be, not only to take from me my just fame, but to take from me also the character of having acted justly towards my pretended assistants; and it is become to be very much the fashion of the times to regard it as monstrous cruelty if a father refuses to give up the last shilling of his earnings, to keep his children without their doing any work at all. I am making no complaint against my children; I am defending myself. I am not reproaching them for never having earned any thing for me; but the fact is so, at any rate. I never wanted them to earn any thing for me; I always had a pleasure enough in working for them; but the fact, nevertheless, is, that, with the exception of the two last-mentioned works, they never did as much for me, even in the characters of amanuensis, as Mr. Gutsell, my present amanuensis, does for me for less than twenty pounds, except, as I said before, with regard to the two last-mentioned works; and those works they had given them at once, as soon as they were finished, together with a thumping edition of each work.

Am I not justified, then, in calling those MONSTERS who are spreading about the report that I am an "impostor," and not the author of my own books? But, how do I know that the report is spreading about? I have said before, that I have seen it in the writing

of an eminent lawyer of one of the inns of court. However, it is not now that I have discovered the schemes to which I alluded before. The spreading of this story is only the beginning of an intended execution of the scheme. I cannot swear that my opinion is correct; but it is my firm belief, that a scheme has been on foot for a considerable time, *by a crafty, round-about, hidden, damnable process, to crush the Political Register, and to drive me from my seat in Parliament!* The reader will stare and be astounded at my saying this; and the very idea will seem wild and monstrous. Wild and monstrous as it may seem, I am quite satisfied of the truth of it; and though I shall not, at present, go into what I deem my proofs of the fact, but leave those proofs for a future occasion, I repeat that I am perfectly satisfied of the truth of the fact.

This scheme became apparent to me so long ago as about the first of July last; and, from that day to this, to defeat the scheme and blow the conspirators to atoms, has been almost my sole occupation. My constituents of Oldham may now cease to wonder why I have not been to see them; and they, and my excellent and kind friends at Manchester, who were preparing a dinner for my reception, will now see why it is that I do not budge from Bolt-court. They may be well assured of my most extreme anxiety to appear amongst them at this time. I have put it off from time to time, and from time to time, thinking that circumstances might arise to enable me to go with safety; but such circumstances have not arisen; hell still yawns; and the devils with mares' tails on their heads are all as busy as their father is said to be in a high wind.

My friends, pray look back now, if you have it, to the *Penenden-heath Register*, written, if you please to recollect, on the 5. of October. You will remember how well and truly I then laid on the lash upon the back of *Doctor Black*, on account of his having published a paragraph in which was the following passage:

"Cobbett has maintained himself by

"much *book-making*, and is the last
 "man to deal in sweeping insinuations
 "of *sinister interests* against others.
 "What he might have been, by consis-
 "tency in public and private conduct,
 "must often painfully occur to him.
 "Unless he restrains his personal and
 "political ferocity, discontinues his
 "universal calumnies, and abides a little
 "with truth, we warn him that his *exit*
 "from public life is nigh at hand."

People wondered what could induce me to bestow thirty-seven pages of such merciless thumping upon Doctor Black for this passage, when I had passed over in silence so many scores of volumes of calumny, and a hundred times as much as this from the *Chronicle* itself, without deigning to say a word in reply. Ah! but I knew that this was not Doctor Black; the lash was intended for other backs than that of the poor Doctor, but it served both. The Doctor had the public benefit, while his base prompters had the full enjoyment in private, and might themselves have taken warning by the sufferings of the Doctor. It was a sort of flogging by proxy, such as was bestowed upon the poor boy by the nobleman mentioned in *Gil Blas*.

The Penenden-heath *Register*, of thirty-seven columns of print, was written between eight o'clock in the morning and seven o'clock at night; and it was at Bolt-court the next morning, at half after six. A day's labour, perfectly prodigious. It could not have been performed by me alone. It could not have been performed otherwise than by dictation in that space of time; yet it was necessary that it should be performed in that time, else it could not have been published on the Friday. But, though it could not have been performed without dictation, and without somebody capable of putting upon the paper correctly so prodigious a mass of matter in so short a space of time; still, will any just man say, or pretend to believe, that even the smallest part of the merit belonged to my eldest son, who did the manual part of the thing? No: certainly not; and no man, with any sense of shame left in him, would speak

of the merit of having been the amanuensis in such a case, except as having had the honour to be chosen for the purpose?

However, all this that I have written is only preparatory to the full development of the damnable scheme of which I have before spoken. It was foolish in the extreme in the monsters to begin at this end of the job: this was a matter at which I was sure to take fire. If it had been something tending to rob me of a parcel of money; or even to strip me, leaving not a shirt upon my back, I might have borne it for a while; I might have deferred or procrastinated, at any rate; but here was a thing that was sure to bring me out; was sure to make me seize upon the enemy, though armed with the horns of the devil. It was artful, it was crafty, it was proceeding by sap and mine; it was getting a footing on the glaxis, well covered with gabions and fascines; but, the very glance at it, in what I saw in the *Penenden-heath Register*, the bare glance was enough to make me put the match to the forty-two pounder and blow the assailants back to their trenches; and there they now are, star-gazing, while I challenge them to come on to the open assault at once. Distinctly I challenge them to come on to the open assault.

Can any man figure to his mind any thing more base, any thing more detestable, than the spreading of a report like this; than the spreading of a lie calculated to cause the world to believe that the father has gained great fame by the industry and talents of the children; that he has kept this fact secret, and passed the produce off as the fruit of his industry and genius? I can conceive nothing more malignant capable of being engendered in the heart, even of devils. The reader must be satisfied that such a monstrous lie could not be invented for nothing. Every one will be satisfied that it must have had some ulterior object in view. Time will develop that object completely, and I will as completely defeat it. In the meantime my constituents, my friends at Manchester and everywhere else, will

now discover the cause why I have been penned up at Bolt-court for the last four months. I have not thought it safe to quit it for more than thirty-six hours at a time, except in one case, and then I was absent three days. This is the seat of war; it is here that the battle must be fought; and I am resolved not to quit the spot until that battle be over.

Once more I beg my constituents to excuse me, and to be assured that nothing in my whole life has ever grieved me more than not being able to go and take them by the hand. I beg also that Mr. Croft, and the other gentlemen at Manchester, will be assured that nothing short of that which I have described could have withheld me from gratefully receiving the honour which they have intended me.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. In speaking of the *Register*, I purposely omitted to mention the following facts: that during the session of Parliament, which session began in the month of October, 1830, John Cobbett made an abridgment of the Parliamentary Debates, weekly, for the *Register*; that he, of course, was living in my house, but that I paid him a sovereign and a half for this weekly work, the amount of which the readers of the *Register* may see, by turning to its pages of that period; that, during the publication of this abridgment from his pen, he occasionally wrote short comments on the speeches; and, upon one occasion, described the pensioners and other vermin living upon the taxes, to be in the situation of rats, when the *last pitch of straw is about to be removed*. This little article was published in all the newspapers of the kingdom, some calling it malignant, others being pleased with it; but all of them admiring it as a piece of writing. I did not know that it was in the *Register* for a fortnight after it was published; but, having read it in the newspapers, and hearing such a fuss made about it, I began instantly to *disclaim* it in conversation, and immediately afterwards most distinctly disclaimed it in the *Register* itself, ascribing it to its real author, and very glad I was to have to do this. Mr.

Thomas Attwood, his son, Mr. Parkes, Dr. Wade, and several other gentlemen with whom I dined in the city in the month of May, 1831, or thereabouts, will recollect that the praises of this little article came forth from somebody; and that I instantly declared that it was John Cobbett who had written it; a fact which I had great difficulty in making them believe. I mention this to show how scrupulous I have always been on this score. I never insert even any information that a correspondent gives me; never use any thought or suggestion of a correspondent, though anonymous, without in some way or other acknowledging it. And yet, I, who have been thus scrupulous all my life-time, am at last, actually to see it stated in a writing of a lawyer of one of the inns of court, that I am an impostor-author, that my writings are "*not genuine*," and that they have in part been written by my children, without saying what part, too, and leaving it very soon to become the story that I myself had written no part at all! Monsters! again I say, monsters! Bring forth the claimants under their proper names: do not wrap the charge up into the general denomination of "children"; but bring somebody in a proper name to say "**I WROTE THAT**": bring somebody to say that, ye monsters, or pass for monsters to the last moments of your lives!

Besides the above works, there is the "**TWOPENNY TRASH**," there is the Essay at the head of my edition of Tull's Husbandry, and there are my eleven numbers, already published, of the History of the Regency and Reign of George the Fourth; not one single syllable of any of these ever was contributed in any way whatsoever, by any human being; and there is that most careful, neat, and scrupulously correct translation of Martens's Law of Nations, which was performed at the time when the oldest of these children was in the cradle; and yet, "*the childthre*" were as much the authors of that translation as of any part or particle of the works before-mentioned, except in the mere mechanical way that I have stated.

For a man to steal from another author, though a stranger to him in person, and though the author may have been dead for a century, has always appeared to me to be a great moral offence. What, then, must it be for a man to steal reputation from his own children? If such a charge were true, it would point such a man out to the hatred and contempt of all mankind. But, there is one offence worse than this, and that is, falsely preferring such a charge against a father, as it were in the name and in the behalf of his own children! This damnable offence has now been committed against me; and the mares'-tails are all blowing in the wind to carry the falsehood throughout the country; and all that remains to be shown is, *who it is* that has committed this damnable offence.

WAGES OF LABOUR.

Normandy Farm, 24. Dec., 1833.

MY DEAR FATHER,—In the *True Sun* of yesterday, a subject is treated of, which is, certainly, one of the greatest importance in whatever way it be viewed, but, perhaps, most of all as to the consequences which may before long ensue, but for the adoption of right notions upon it; and, upon this subject, I am sorry to perceive, that that paper, which you have so much extolled, is now labouring in a manner the most pernicious, the most cruelly injurious to the people for the time present, and the most dangerous to all property and government in the end: in short, in a manner the most ignorant and stupid (or the most corrupt) that can be imagined. This subject is, the TRADES UNIONS, and their intended regulations to be adopted between masters and workmen, in order to ensure general and constant employment, and sufficient wages; and I have here to beg of you the favour to give insertion in the *Register* to a few remarks from me, founded on the experience which I have gained in residing here fifteen months; during which time, you not having been

able to attend to the affairs of your farm in person, I have acted as your deputy, especially in the dispensing of WAGES. Laying before you the article in question, I will afterwards point out that doctrine which it contains, which strikes me so forcibly as calling for exposure and censure. The article is, word for word, as follows, and these words likewise in the relative print or type in which I find them, that you may not read any part of it with an emphasis other than that which the writer has intended.

(From the True Sun, 23. Dec., 1833).

1. It is most important that the trades unions should weigh carefully the probable consequences of the measures which they appear prepared to adopt, with the view of raising the labouring classes of this country from that level of misery, to which misgovernment and oppression in many forms have reduced them.

2. The trades unions seem to think, that, in order to lessen the slavery of the labouring classes—to reduce their hours of toil from twelve or fourteen a day, to eight—it is only necessary for the various classes of labourers in succession to declare that they will not work more than eight hours. The masters, it is assumed, must give in; and by this process, the trades unions believe that the great cause of humanity may be advanced without violence, or the ordinary concomitants of social revolution. The triumph, they think, will be a triumph of reason alone.

3. We hope most fervently, that the object which the trades unions have proposed to themselves, may be realized; we hope that the labourer's toil may be lessened, and his reward mightily augmented. We are very sure, moreover, that these great results might be achieved by the influence of the trades unions, properly directed; but we are equally assured, either that the trades unions, if they shall act on the system which they at present recommend, will fail of their object; or that if they shall succeed in their object, the change will not be effected by bloodless means.

4. Let us suppose that the labourers throughout England shall intimate to their respective employers, that they will work only eight hours a day, instead of twelve. The labourers have at present, far too slender a share of the commodities which they themselves produce. Will that share be increased, when only two-thirds of the gross amount of the commodities now manufactured shall be brought to market? Unquestionably not. In every scarcity, the poor suffer most. In every dearth of food, the poor, it is, who die of famine.

5. But the trades unions believe, that the labourers might extort from their employers the same wages, or even higher, for eight hours of work, than they now receive for twelve. No mistake can be more complete. The employers could not, if they were so disposed, accede to such an arrangement. It would be impossible for any trade in England to be carried on, on such terms. The employers must resist the movement. What follows? Either that the labourers shall abandon their design, or **CARRY IT BY FORCE.**

6. Let not the trades unions deceive themselves. If they succeed in the system of tactics which they now recommend, their triumph will not be a triumph of pure reason, as they appear to imagine.

7. The trades union desire to avoid violence. They desire to carry their glorious objects without an appeal to brute force. We have more than once adverted to the only means by which they are certain of success.

8. The labourer, under the present arrangements of society, is forced to toil for the benefit of those who have no natural claim to his earnings. He lives in a state of society, in which **INDUSTRY** is fearfully and intolerably taxed, while **PROPERTY** escapes this process of confiscation. The labourer has no voice in making the laws which oppress him. Law-making, in fact, is one of the privileges of property: hence the exemption from taxation which property enjoys.

9. Let the trades unions exert their in-

fluences to secure universal suffrage, or at all events, a mighty extension of the elective franchise. Let them exert their influences to carry a property tax—a tax which shall fall with peculiar weight upon all property unproductively employed. A property tax, instead of the whole of the present taxes, would soon rid the country of its burdens: at all events, it would set the labourer free. Then would his hours of toil be lessened, and his share in the produce of his own hands be increased. Then, above all, would he toil for his own flesh and blood alone—and then would he feel that his every extra effort was recompensed by a fresh accession to the stock of his comforts.

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This piece of newspaper lucubration leaves me to presume that the writer does not choose, as a theme whereon to pronounce opinions, the matter which he is best acquainted with, thereby giving an instance of the truth of the observation of **SWIFT**, on a peculiarity of man as compared with all other animals, namely, that his judgment does not always direct him to select that profession for which his nature befits him. At all events, the present state of information of this editor may be greatly, or “*waustly*,” or, to use his own phraseology, “*mightily*” improved; and, with the hope of doing this, or else of putting the seal of insincerity upon his mischievous efforts, I beg you to give an opportunity of reading the facts and observations which I have to offer upon the opinions he is endeavouring to circulate.

As the proceedings, principles, and views of the Unions are not fully set forth in this article, which is to explode them, I must first do that, as far as I understand them, and the description of which, I believe, to be nearly as follows:

1. That there are formed unions of the workmen in the various branches of trade or work, calling themselves “*trades unions*.”
2. That the first object of these unions is, to fix a rate of wages, either by

time or by the piece, so that the lowest pay for a day's work shall be sufficient to sustain the workman, and, of course, his family.

3. That the next object is, that the hours for labour during one day shall not be more than eight.
4. That the number of hours shall be further reduced, if necessary, according to a scale, so that the whole of the people shall be kept in employ.
5. That these regulations are to begin to be acted upon by the 1. March next, at which time the "ten-hour bill" was intended to go into operation.
6. That it is expected that, by the concurrence of the masters in these regulations, there will be no want of employment, nor starvation, felt by the working classes; and that there will be no bloodshed, fire, or violence, to be apprehended by the masters, to their persons or property, on the part of the workmen.

Each of these six propositions contains, according to my sentiment, the head for an eulogium, for which the limits of a whole *Register* would not be sufficient; and, as it is not my object to enter at present fully into the subject, I will characterize these propositions thus: that, as to the **FIRST**, leaving out the natural right and present expediency, nothing can be more in accordance with these old laws, which have been the support and the means of creating our much-valued constitution, the excellence of the English people in all trades and arts, and, in fact, of the English name. The **SECOND** aims at that which was always the object of our laws, from the time that we have any knowledge of the existence of statutes down to that which laid the tax on malt 'liquor. The **THIRD** fixes that maximum for the time to be devoted to the labouring for a master, which was fixed by **ALFRED** for himself. The **FOURTH** is an invention for the attaining of an object, for which we have a precedent in the labour-rate bill, which, in the parishes hereabouts, has done a great deal in keeping people in their own

parishes, and in the lessening of the poor-rates of those parishes, but which bill has failed of any effect in the manufacturing districts. The **FIFTH** fixes the time at which these salutary changes are to be made, the same as that fixed upon by that great portion of the legislature who voted for the reducing of the hours of labour; the fixing of this time must give hope to the distressed people, and, though it is not soon enough to serve them in this most inclement season, it is *not far off*. The **SIXTH** contains the main principle, the justness and soundness of which I am most convinced of, as applying to all situations, times, and circumstances, and which, my dear father, I have always imbibed as sacred, having so long since been taught, and seen it invariably acted upon, by you; and, as this is the principle which we are now acting upon at this little farm, what I have to say is more particularly relative, in its good effects, to the workman, the master, and to the country of both: but, this I reserve by way of answer to what I now present to you as the substance which I gather from the article of your quondam friend of the *True Sun*.

He says, that it is a "**PROPERTY-TAX**" which the unions must obtain, and that "then the hours of the labourer's toil can be lessened, and his share "in the produce of his own hands be "increased." This is cold comfort with a vengeance! What! are the whole of millions to wait, in a state of starvation from hunger and from cold, till the whole of the property of the country have consented to abandon their claim to that inviolability of their own, of that which they have worked for, or have received from, their ancestors, which Englishmen have always contended for, have always succeeded in maintaining, which is the great principle of their laws, and for their effectiveness in securing which those laws are so justly celebrated? Oh, no, Mr. Editor, this is not a job to be achieved without bloodshed, if you please; and you here expose the hollowness of those professions which you make, that "you hope the "reward for the labourer's toil may

"be mightily augmented; that his every extra effort should be recompensed by a fresh accession to the stock of his comforts:" but, "that you are certain, that by any other proceeding than that of endeavouring to procure a property tax, if they shall succeed in their object, the change will not be effected by bloodless means;" and by which doctrine of yours you recommend, for the purpose of avoiding bloodshed, that which is sure to cause it! Can any thing be more preposterous, on the face of it, than unions of working men, driven to unite from actual starvation, beginning coolly to set about the undertaking, the task, of causing the tax on malt, and all the other taxes which affect them, to be transferred to great landlords, merchants, or others, that the amount may be deducted out of their incomes? Can any thing be more impossible than that such unions should advance one step in carrying into execution such a scheme, without coming to blows with those whose property they were invading? This is enough, I think, to show the hollowness, the insincerity, the *diablerie*, as the French call it, of this kind editor, who sees no hope of any relief whatever till his clients, the people (he being their self-appointed adviser) shall be changed by one generation for another: for, the means he points out are of such a nature, that, to be carried into effect in any thing of a reasonable time, must, and cannot, avoid causing the greatest of violence and bloodshed; or, to be done peaceably, the accomplishment of it not to be dreamed of for several years at least. Thus, in place of appealing to, and endeavouring to persuade, those who can have it in their power, to prevent both starvation and riot and confusion, by submitting to content themselves with less gain, or, if you will even, with more loss; he sees no remedy, no practicability, no chance of success, except in the blackguarding, the vilifying, and the threatening of those who starve, that they must starve on!

Now, what has been, my dear father, the just and wise principle of your

whole life in the requiting of others for their labour performed for you? I have always learned from you, that your labouring men were entitled to the necessities of life in food, clothing, fuel, and house-room, *leaving out of the question whether you lost or gained by the work they performed for you*; I have always understood from you, and, indeed, I cannot see how any person of just sentiment can avoid instantly feeling the same impression, that, if the providing for the necessities of life to the labourer be not the first care on the part of the employer, the trade or manufacture of that employer, his "art and mystery," is neither more nor less than a trade of preying upon the vitals of that labourer. It is unquestionably precisely so. This trade is nothing new in the natural history of ferocious animals; there is likewise no guarding against it in detached, detailed, irregular and hidden cases, amongst men: but in a large way (to use the trading slang), in a *general line*, as an acknowledged principle to be acted upon in wholesale; for it to be said that all trade must cease without it; for it, at last, to be pretended that without it there is no security for property, it requires, indeed, that there should be nameless invisible and unknown devils at work, calling themselves editors, to be the first to put forth, to set before our eyes, and to familiarize our ears with any thing so monstrous!

The question is, then, *at which end* the sacrifices are to be made: whether they are to be made by those at the bottom, that is, the labourers, or by those at the top, that is to say, the employers: whether the correcting of the laws, the reforming of the constitution, the regeneration of society; whether these high and difficult subjects, even for the most learned and scientific, and tasks requiring power and means; whether these duties lie upon, appertain to *ex-officio*, the journeymen, weavers their wives and children, to ploughmen, hedgers, and paupers? If it belong to these, then those who are generally called "all the property," "all the learning," "all the good and great;" whom Castlereagh

called "the education of the country," and by some are frequently called "the country itself," the mighty change which now evidently must soon be borne by one or the other, these are exempt from.

(To be continued.)

(From the Newcastle Press, Dec. 21, 1833.)

The gigantic organization of the *Trades Unions* is beginning, and with reason, to attract the attention of the country. These unions are only one amongst the many signs of that great change which is impending over this kingdom; and which it is now impossible either for human cunning or human courage to avert. These unions have sprung out of the long and increasing pressure upon the laborious classes, whose misery has gone on increasing with their knowledge. The fruit is perfectly natural. Education will never bring men to believe, that they can be half starved to all eternity under a just or proper government; or that society has any right to call upon men in general to be miserable, for the sake of the continuation of a system. Of this, the productive classes of England are now fully convinced, and they are as fully determined that *they* at all events will suffer no longer. They are well aware of the real cause of all the evils they are enduring; they know well that it is the ruinous weight of taxation, doubled as it was in 1829, by the extinction of the small notes, which prevents their employers from paying them adequate wages for their labour. They know well that their employers will not be able to add the increase of their wages to the price of the manufactured goods. They know that this is impossible; they know that the farmer cannot by possibility get fifty shillings the quarter for his best wheat; they know that the manufacturers of woollen and cotton goods, are at this moment unable to get almost the smallest advance of price, notwithstanding the rise in the *value* of wool, and in the *price* of cotton; they know that this is the case with all manufacturers

of iron goods, and hardware; they know, in fact, that their employers in all trades, cannot *afford* to save them from *semi-starvation*; but they also know that *they* and their children *cannot afford to starve*, and they have said, and wisely said, "Starve we will not, happen what else may." And who is the man that shall dare to blame them for this? The poor man's labour is his property, and he has an undoubted right to take all peaceable means to get the best price for it. It is idle to talk of combination-laws directed against the working classes. *Rich men* sometimes do combine out of pure avarice. Such things as "monopolies" and "restricted vendes" have arisen from the insatiable love of money, and the cravings of unappeasable greediness; but *the millions* never combine save from the terrible pressure of want; for that cause which unites a whole industrious people must be searching indeed. That the despair of the industrious classes, both in agriculture and manufactures, is about to give powerful aid to the operation of the other causes of change of system in England, is now abundantly clear. The ruined farmer and the half-ruined manufacturer, have hitherto struggled on by reducing the wages of labour to the lowest possible amount. This they will not be enabled any longer to do, and the result cannot be doubted. Let the landed and trading interests once be convinced that the time is now arrived, when either *they* or "*the system*" must perish, and it is evident enough which alternative will be taken.

The landlords and the great manufacturers were the makers of the giant mischief, which has at length turned upon themselves. Like Frankenstein, they are now themselves endangered by the very monster of their own creation. The death-grapple is now at hand, and they must destroy it, or be destroyed by it. In order to render this more apparent, we shall, next week (if possible), present our readers with a condensed abstract of the principal evidence given before the Committee of Inquiry into the state of commerce and manufactures; we shall there demonstrate that the

state of trade is only second in distress to that of agriculture; and we shall show, if it be necessary still to show, the impossibility of continuing to raise taxes more than double the amount of the whole rental of the whole land of the kingdom of England. The *highest amount of landed rental*, as shown by the returns in 1815, under the working of the property-tax, was THIRTY-NINE MILLIONS AND A HALF PER ANNUM. Since the passing of the immortal bill of Peel it is quite certain that it *has* fallen as low as TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS per annum. With wheat at fifty shillings the quarter, on the average, we doubt the landlords getting TWENTY MILLIONS! THE TAKES, including poor-rates, &c., are FIFTY-FIVE MILLIONS; *more than double the amount of the present rental of the land*; and yet out of the decreasing rental of that land, out of the diminished profits of commerce, and out of the wages of the starving artisans and labourers, must this enormous amount be annually paid, as long as it is paid, which, however, cannot be long. The continuation of the SYSTEM is plainly *impossible*. The fall of rents is producing a corresponding want of demand for the goods of the trader, whose profits are thus cut off in the same ratio; and who of course in turn diminishes his own expenditure, and consumption not only of luxuries, but of necessities; and thus in all classes the power of paying taxes is every day diminishing. The minister even now despairs of finding a substitute for the assessed taxes, which he feels the people will no longer pay; wherever he turns, insuperable difficulties stare him in the face; and it is notorious, that Lord Grey is now anxious to escape from a responsibility which is daily growing more and more awful, and would gladly quit a situation, of which the cares and dangers now far outweigh the honour and emolument. *Something*, in short, *must* ere long *give way*, and this *both* parties now see. It is for the *people* to be PREPARED for that which they must now, in due time, behold. The steady contemplation of an approaching crisis averts half the danger. The very

determination not to be alarmed, takes away half the ground for fear; and in deciding upon great national measures, they are three parts accomplished. In the mean time, it would be well if the trades unions would act with the political unions in all parts of the kingdom. If the industrious classes are to be relieved, a political regeneration of their country must either be the *cause* or *effect*. *The two cannot be disunited*. Let the trades unions reflect upon this, and act accordingly. In giving this advice, we are only doing our duty; in taking it, it is our firm conviction they will only do theirs. D.

RIGHTS OF INDUSTRY, No. IV.

(From the Manchester Advertiser, 21. Dec.)

It was our design to deal with the arguments of some small casuists, who professedly abet [and practically oppose] the new plan of regenerating society. It is in our individual nature to be too civil by half to logical pretenders; and even in our editorial capacity, we generally stop short of the whole measure of punishment due to an ungracious aggressor. On this occasion we will endeavour to be perfectly amiable. We will imitate the spirit of ROBERT OWEN, who never allows himself to be angry—who considers his opponents in the light of well-meaning but mistaken persons, and who behaves towards an enemy as much like one of the early Christians, as the *Guardian* does like the unfeeling pagans who persecuted them. (We beg pardon of Mr. OWEN for this awkward imitation of his imperturbable good nature). Why should we, or any other party engaged in the great object of humanizing the deplorable condition of British labourers, feel angry or disturbed? We are without any present cause. We have the game hitherto all our own way. We have taken no step which has not been successful; and the reason is, that every thing yet done has been peaceable and rational. No public meetings have been called by us. (One has been held at Derby, contrary to our advice). There

has been no bandying about of the common subjects of political heat. Our arguments are pure, political arithmetic. We show to what a degree industry is robbed; we show how much time and money have hitherto been held back from it (and we are going on with that explanation); we have declared in effect how much must be paid and allowed in future; and above all, we have clearly pointed out a pacific way for the enforcement of the claim. We have proved that this is not only necessary for the well-being of the labourers, but that it is equally necessary to the continuance of lawful government, and that it is the only step which can be taken to restore reasonable profits to the industrious capitalists—by capitalists always meaning those employed in fair and honest courses of industry, such as in their application cannot fail to benefit the whole community. By announcing this, by explaining it, by inviting the investigation of reason to it, by discouraging the indulgence of passion and impatience among converts and friends, we have already given a new impulse to the labouring population of the whole country. Meetings of various trades have been called, and societies formed, to hear, judge, and determine; and long before the missionaries could be instructed in the statistical accounts of the present precious order of things, in order to give right information to the labourers within our own county, societies have sprung up in the Potteries, Worcestershire, and London, which have cordially adopted our views.

What have we to be sore about? Have we not, upon a simple declaration of our plan, and of the reasons whereon it is founded, at once obtained the concurrence and aid of the most powerful mind at present engaged in political affairs, in or out of Parliament? Of course we mean Mr. Cobbett. Threats in such a case are impotent. What could the myrmidons of any government take hold of? What could the Government itself contrive against a coalition which gives up all other force, and fights only with the weapons of reason? Already have many of the

trades unions suspended their proceedings, and declared for the new confederacy of mind against brute force and corruption. The alarm which made the most tyrannical of the masters solicit the Government for the re-enactment of the brutish combination laws, agreeably to the generous suggestions of the *Guardian*, is hourly subsiding. Many an oppressed and desponding mechanic has already found his spirits enlivened with the hope of a bloodless change which is to improve his lot, without the exercise of violence or injustice. Yes, yes, "the timorous and flocking birds, that love the twilight of reason, may flutter about and be in amazement" at what is going on. But the real action of the plan is one which will enable the country to do with half the military force, to dismiss the police, to abolish five parts or six of the poor-rates, and the expenses of prosecuting crime. In short, it is pregnant with peace, and order, and contentment. It is the mere fruition of that knowledge which "the schoolmaster" has been scattering abroad, and which the muse of the *Penny Magazine* has shed from her wings in her wide excursions over those islands. There is this difference: it was not intended that the new knowledge should lead to any investigation of the causes of the extreme want of bodily conveniences among labourers, who are glutting all the markets in the world with clothes of which they have not enough properly to hide their nakedness. Far less was it the intention that this knowledge should lead on, by the mere practice of reasoning, to an exact remedy for the evil. But it is written in their own books; it is the maxim which forms the key-stone to their system.

Supply and demand regulate each other, and the supply ought to be just equal to the demand. "Thin, your numbers," was the doctrinal application of this maxim to the labourers. "That, as a body, is not within your ability," whispered Reason; "but," adds the goddess, "you may thin the productions of your hands, and then you will be able to give your bodies needful

rest, and to your minds meet and necessary instruction."

Those opposed to the interest of the labourers declare that they cannot carry the principle into effect. (We are not going to answer the boobies who couple the attempt with breach of, or danger to, the public peace). Their friends, including Mr. COBBETT, in his all-powerful letter, have only this single fear upon the subject. We have seen letters from others, some of them fast and tried friends of the labourers, expressing the same apprehension, because, as they say, the labourers will not be true to one another. We believe this mistrust of human nature to be founded in error. It arises from a confirmed habit of seeing much goodness in those of wealth and rank, and none at all in poverty. Then the vices of the vulgar are considered so incorrigible, and their ignorance so unteachable, as to forbid hope. This is the calculation of Dr. ADAM SMITH, and it apparently agrees with past historical experience. But then he had not the indecency to treat it as a beneficent law of nature. When he talks of the rush of competition to the labour or to any other market, he treats it as an affair of panic-terror which drives people to make absurd and destructive sacrifices. Never would he have assented to that creed of Antichrist, that society could be actually benefited by a course of reckless competition, like racing stage-coaches, which have in many instances run until both cattle and masters were totally ruined. It is left for modern wisdom to point the way to riches and happiness, by starving and stripping our fellow-subjects in order to cheapen cottons in the sultry regions of the East, where they are scarcely wanted. What error have the labourers committed, what have they ever said so monstrous and foolish as this? It is not the work of the labourers which we see around us. They did not pledge, past redemption, the resources of all posterity; they did not devote unborn generations of children to the task of pampering the Israelites with the wealth of fifty or a hundred Canaans; they have not divided society into "three workers for five thinkers;"

they did not contrive that happy order of things, which makes slaves of the infant children, and unwilling idlers of their sires, and which gives three times the food to a convicted felon that is allowed to an able-bodied labourer; they did not create the necessity for 14,000 policemen to guard London; they would not have kept more troops in profound peace than were even wanted for any of our foreign wars, the last excepted. They do not light up the fires of incendiarism in England, nor the more godless flames of tithe havoc and hatred in Ireland. They would not have kept the country sweltering with discontent, from a state of things marked with the most insulting superabundance in one class, and intolerable pinching and privation in another,—a state which is not exceeded for its wicked absurdity in the history of the world. No doubt the people are ignorant, or this would not have happened; they would have long ago found the destroyers a more harmless employment; they will do so yet; they have made progress; those who call themselves their superiors have not. There is a statesman in this town, or at any rate there was on Thursday night, supposed to be a fair representative of Plutocratic wisdom, who pretends to believe that the country is happy and prosperous, while produce has sunk one-half in value, and manufacturing labour is all but starved, and the Jew mortgage on lands and capital and labour remains at its old amount. This is not an uncommon opinion with those who are free from the necessity of labouring. Can a body of twenty labourers, of any class, be drawn together in England or Scotland, who are capable of believing it? Certainly not. Then what of that same vulgar ignorance which keeps down our faith in them? It is a mistake; they learn faster than their self-styled betters; they have less to unlearn; they have fewer prejudices, and education is at present made up more than half of ceremony and prejudice; they know better than their rulers the effects of past policy, for they have to bear all its consequences; the arms of their grandsires fought the battles, and their bodies are now wasted

in toiling to pay for the powder and shot, at the swindling credit prices at which they were bought.

Then as to public information, can the Ministers venture to compete with them? They have to send out commissioners and sub-commissioners, inspectors, surveyors, secret and open messengers, to find out things at the cost of thousands, which hundreds of mechanics would be glad to furnish them with for as many pence. They have returns of all provisions grown in these islands, and of the population at hand to eat them, and yet they have to ask after the bodily health, appetite, and dinner materials of the weavers and spinners of York and Lancashire. Imagine the answers which will be received to the questions contained in the instructions to the commissioners and their subs appointed to inquire into the state of the poor in Ireland, when they put their heads into a mud cabin, and, after making out the number and names of the family, the age, and other delicate circumstances of the mother (as in the factory commission was done or directed to be done), imagine them going on to inquire what quantity of mahogany or other furniture the cabin, nakedly exposed to their view, contains! Now be it observed that this is one of the subjects for which Ministers have appointed commissioners, at salaries of 100*l.* a month, with a daily allowance for his own and clerk's expenses, and travelling charges besides for each commissioner.

The Corporation Commission has just been sitting in London to find out the limits of the jurisdiction, the names of its officers, and other trivial matters, which Mr. CHARLES PEARSON gave them off-hand without a fee; while the expenses of their sitting could not be less than 150*l.* per week. No one can charge the people with anything like this degree of ignorance and profligacy. These and a thousand others which have turned the country upside down, which have made industry scandalous, and idleness and crime the employments of the majority; these, all these are the doings of the rich. Then

it is presumed that the labourers will not be faithful to each other. This also comes from the delusion of statements, in preparing which the labourers never were consulted. They have had their errors. Time has been they would have been subject to the frenzy of their superiors, and they would have fought till death for cross or crown, for white rose or red, for York or Lancaster, for Stewart or Guelph. But that is over; they will never again tear down the houses of peaceable and worthy citizens for the honour of the church, at the instigation of clergymen and magistrates. No class makes a better use of their knowledge when they understand the points. Here they are pressed by sharp necessity, which cries out to them to do something or perish. They are engaged in a race the best hope of which is premature extinction. They know that competition has ended in thrusting them out from all the cheerful indulgences of life, and that if they do not retrace their steps, the gates of human right will soon be closed against them and their heirs for ever. But then we shall take care to show them out of the book in which their own unhappy story is written, that they have been driven on by absurd and childish dread, and that they have only to stop in their present losing career and take time to weigh the consequences of "suiting the supply to the demand," and all may be well. Men will drop their tools at the end of eight hours when they find that twelve hours bring them less recompense, fourteen less still, and that eighteen would annihilate their wages. Now, such has been the actual effect of extending the period, and to get back to any former standard of wages, there is no way but one, and that is a sure way, to lessen the number of hours until the value of labour rises to the remunerating prices. For the inducements to do this, we shall borrow the manly and animating close of Mr. Doherty's address to the Derby operatives, after bespeaking the closest attention to the invaluable letters of Mr. Cobbett and Mr. John Fielden, in our last page:

"We are told that there are difficul-

"ties in the way of the adoption of this
 "vast measure. Difficulties! And are
 "you free from difficulties now? Are
 "there no difficulties in struggling
 "through life? Have you no difficulty
 "in procuring bread? If you are free
 "from difficulties; if you are enjoying
 "such a state of perfect bliss as to have
 "no difficulties to meet now, let me
 "solemnly exhort you to reject the
 "measure now submitted to your con-
 "sideration. Reject also your unions,
 "which take up so much of your spare
 "time, and money that is not to spare.
 "If you are in such a state of bliss as to
 "be perfectly free from difficulties,
 "do, I pray you, turn your back upon
 "every man and every thing that would
 "disturb you, for your condition can-
 "not be improved. But if you have
 "difficulties to encounter in your vari-
 "ous avocations and walks of life; if
 "you find every succeeding year and
 "month and week bring new difficul-
 "ties upon you; if you find it every
 "year more difficult to live and pay your
 "way, surely it is not asking too much
 "of you to ask you to encounter
 "a few difficulties, to free yourselves
 "from them all. Are the blessings
 "of competency, comfort, and inde-
 "pendence, things of such little value
 "to you, as not to be worth, not
 "years, but only a few weeks of mode-
 "rate exertion to secure? Gentlemen,
 "when you are looking at the difficul-
 "ties before you, do not forget to
 "glance at the reward which awaits
 "you for overcoming those difficulties.
 "As the immortal Curran said, vigil-
 "ance, never-sleeping, never-tiring vi-
 "gilance, is the price which heaven
 "has fixed upon public liberty. If you
 "are not vigilant and watchful, your
 "governors will enslave you as they
 "have done. Vigilant, virtuous, and
 "persevering exertion is the price which
 "you must pay for your emancipation;
 "and, to speak in the language of trade,
 "if you will not pay the price, you must
 "not expect the commodity. (Loud
 "cheers). Difficulties, indeed! What
 "measure for the benefit of mankind
 "has been broached that was not en-
 "compassed by difficulties? It is the

"common lot of mankind to have diffi-
 "culties to encounter. It is a portion
 "of the punishment allotted for our
 "common fall. Let us not, then, stand
 "crying like children at that which we
 "know to be inevitable; but, like men
 "of courage and spirit, resolve at once
 "to overcome all difficulties, that the
 "glory of triumph may be the more
 "sweet and certain."

SCOTTISH JAILS, POLICE, &c.

(From the *Glasgow Chronicle*, 18. Dec., 1833.)

THE following letter on this subject
 from the Lord Advocate to Mr. Cameron,
 Dingwall, was read at a general meet-
 ing of the county of Ross, on the 20.
 ultimo:

Edinburgh, Oct., 1833.

"SIR,—I had last night the honour
 of receiving your letter of the 26., with
 the minutes there referred to.

"The resolution to which you par-
 ticularly call my attention, relates to a
 subject which has recently occupied a
 good deal of my thoughts; though I
 cannot say that my views are yet so
 matured or my information so complete,
 as to enable me to say that a general
 bill for the purposes you mention, shall
 be brought into Parliament in the
 course of the ensuing session.

"The condition of the jails over all
 Scotland, is for the most part, deplora-
 ble, and the system according to which
 they are built and maintained, appears
 to me (with all its recent improvements)
 fundamentally defective. There are
 great difficulties, however, and great
 diversities of opinion as to the plan that
 ought to be adopted; and it would evi-
 dently be undesirable to introduce a
 general measure which should not be
 tolerably complete, and lay the founda-
 tion at least for all necessary amend-
 ments. The rights and interests of the
 burghs as well as the counties must be
 attended to; and suggestions obtained
 from all quarters, and explanations given,
 before any thing likely to give general
 satisfaction can be proposed.

"I am exceedingly indebted to the

gentlemen of your county, not only for the information they have afforded, but for the example they have set, and the communication they propose to hold with other parts of the kingdom. I am myself about to enter into such communications, and can sincerely assure them that I shall not only be ready, but anxious to move for a legislative enactment, as soon as its proper scope and object can be duly ascertained.

"As to a general rural police for the counties, this, too, is a subject which has recently engaged a great deal not only of my attention, but that of his Majesty's more immediate advisers—and with a view not to Scotland only, but to the whole United Kingdom. It is a subject, however, of still greater delicacy and importance than the jails; and I can only say that great masses of information and suggestions are already collected in the Home Office, and I have no doubt will speedily be taken into consideration with a view to practical regulations."

"With regard to the probable abolition of imprisonment for debt, I think it extremely probable that the law in this respect will be altered or mitigated, in both parts of the island; although the change will probably be greater in England than with us; where the cessio and the Act of Grace have long greatly alleviated the severities of the practice. I have no idea, however, that it will be totally abolished; or that it will for the future be necessary to have a debtor's jail; although in cases of innocent insolvency, and where no contumacy is alleged, liberation may be easily effected.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"FRANCIS JEFFREY."

"To H. I. Cameron, Esq.

"Dingwall."

AGRICULTURE.—ITALIAN CLOVER.

Politicians may debate as they please whether this mode of employment or that, be the more profitable to the body politic, but of this there cannot, according to the wise Dutch proverb, be a doubt, that "he who causes a seed to spring, or a tree to grow, produces

"something for the benefit of mankind; and he that throws a net into the sea upon a single fish draws out a piece of silver."

Since agriculture became a science, the number of plants cultivated for the use of man within the comparatively short period of living men's recollection, has been multiplied in an infinite series. We have Tartar and Siberian oats, Indian corn, various tribes of grasses, and lastly the Italian clover, which for the last few years has been making so strong a sensation in the western and midland counties of England. The name given to it by botanists is the *Trifolium Incarnatum*. It bears a beautiful head of bright red flowers, resembling sainfoin in colour; and it must be sown in soil of the best description; in England it is generally sown in the month of August, and on wheat stubble, at the rate of 10lb. to the English acre; it comes in use the following May. By a letter from Lord Vernon to Mr. Cobbett, whose vigorous pen has noticed it more than once, it appears to stand frost extremely well; it is highly productive; cattle, and horses in particular, enjoy it for food; and a crop of turnips may be got after it in an early season even in Scotland. The Italian clover seems, upon the whole, a valuable variety of that most valuable plant; but no more can be said of it till after it shall have got a fair trial under the various climates of this and the sister island. It seems a plant peculiarly calculated for the mild and hazy atmosphere of Ayrshire, where there is seldom frost. Mr. Cobbett, with the humour and sagacity which characterize the effusions of his pen in writing on his favourite subject, agriculture, where every political asperity is banished, speaks thus of the Italian clover: "Being at Mr. Smith's, at Languard Farm, in the middle of July, I there saw a real English farmhouse, for there I saw two pork-tubs, containing each, I should suppose, three quarters of a ton of pork, to be eaten by the labourers. In the garden was a patch of this Italian clover or *Trifolium Incarnatum*. For

"what reason 'incarnatum' I do not know, but am inclined to think it a plant of great importance. I choose, however, to call it the Italian clover, in the meantime; but by-and-by the chopsticks will get hold of it, and in their mode of treating names it will soon become the Tallin clover, and it is as well to stick to that at once."

"HEDDEKASHUN."

Thursday Evening.

DEAR SIR,—I have been waiting with some anxiety since the appearance of your article on education, for a good sound series of comments upon what many of your readers consider your errors on this subject, and have been somewhat disappointed that it elicited no more effectual reply, than that of the Dominie whose letter appeared in your *Register* of the 14th. I flattered myself, from the style of its commencement, that he was going to launch out into an analytical examination of your humorous and characteristic paper; but he contents himself (after merely complaining that you treat his employment rather too cavalierly), with coinciding from beginning to end. In default of some better communicant, I take the pen for five minutes to complain, as I have a just right to do, as being one of the constituents of your *Register*, of your want of clearness and precision in your treatment of this subject; for if your readers allow you to run riot in this style, the inevitable effect will be, that the immortal and formidable gridiron, which originally was intended for the comely person of Mr. Cobbett, will become the instrument upon which all persons and principles will undergo an indiscriminate grilling. I do not say that you are unacquainted with the complete bearing of the subject, but I do complain, that in the manner you have treated it in that *Register*, you have not conveyed, and will not convey, to readers your own thoughts, but just such a

loose view or apprehension of them, as will cause them to think that you believe ignorance in the poor is better than knowledge. One redeeming expression you have made use of, which assures me that you did not intend the readers of the *Register* to adopt such a conclusion, as many of them have adopted, you say: *It must be real knowledge*; and in that, I apprehend, you will find few disposed to contradict you. But from the commencement of your letter, from the first stick which you fling at poor defunct Dr. Malthus (with much the same animus which Dean Swift describes to have impelled sister Margaret to cast her poker at young Mr. Jeoffrey, and which I trust the population principle will survive as well), to the sentimental ebullitions of your muse, the Cobbett Hymns, I find two or three passages which are rather inconsistent with each other. Skipping past the first column or two, which merely disposes of a few details, I join you where you fling down the gauntlet to the *honest lord*, upon the principle of national education. To him you say, that reading and writing, or if you prefer it, heddekashun, have a tendency to inoculate human beings with a distaste of bodily labour, and you support this curious and original assertion, it is true, with your usual intrepidity; but your goodly band of heddekated beggars led on by the interesting young Bristolian rascal, whom you encountered at Hammersmith, will convince people of the truth of your doctrine. Now to meet fact with fact, and without lugging people from all parts of the world into the fray, we will just look to Scotland, a country which you have lately visited, and with which I am very well acquainted. You will find few in that well-regulated part of the island unable to read and write; no people, as you know, live more frugally, none more morally; and yet, according to your theory of education and crime being cause and effect, this people should present a more appalling mass of criminality than their southern neighbours. The young women are generally modest and reserved; the young men shrewd,

healthy, industrious, and abstinent; education there does not interfere with their daily duties, but it enlivens their evening amusements; there is no lolloping about the fields as in England, begging innumerable bastards: no ale-house frequenting of a night; no roaring of ridiculous music-murdering noises miscalled songs; no guzzling of strong ale or ardent spirits, such as I have witnessed in Berkshire and in Essex. After work they read from Burns or the Bible, or any other profitable book, or they sit round the ingle and discuss any topic in which they are at all interested, or inquire of any new comer for his news. As I have had them cross-examining me, as to what in the name of common sense could drive Mr. Cobbett to tak sic a muckle dislike to their style o' feeding, when they liket sae weel themselves; or why he should run full tilt against their oatmeal, more than they did against his beef, was what they could not weel comprehend. And I have always replied that Mr. Cobbett was a man whom I knew better than any of my more intimate friends, for he always put his soul upon paper; and from what I could see of it, he was a hearty, honest, clever, and prejudiced man, who having fattened well upon beef and mutton, was at a loss to think upon what other substances the body-corporate would thrive. That he had run foul of Scottish diet without properly considering the nature of man, or sufficiently calculated what a creature of habit an omnivorous animal is. The controversy may be compared to the two knights of old, who half shoot each other to pieces, about the composition of a shield, brass on one side and silver on the other. The two worthies approaching it in different directions, each remarked upon the shield as he saw it, and each was flatly contradicted by the other, until blows took the place of better arguments. The present case may be called beef-eater *versus* brose-eater. But to return: how is it that all the young Scotchmen do not leave the hills and look after *situations*; or that the stout young fellows do not betray the same penchant for farmers' cattle and sheep, as they

did when reading and writing were comparatively unknown in those parts? How is it they are not disgusted with labour? For two good reasons; they know that they *must* labour if they intend to live; and next, there is none of that degradation attached to bodily labour which the sapient satraps of the south affix to it. Society there is on another principle; there are not the strongly marked distinctions of rank, neither the haughty landlord nor the purse proud plethoric bishop. Labour is practised there by the profound and the accomplished; and I saw, but three months back, ~~one of~~ the name of Forbes, a brother of the general of that name, the Laird of Auchairnock, working away like a barrow-man, without coat and with upturned sleeves, wielding a hammer of some twenty pounds weight, assisting his brother-men to make a dyke on the estate. This is a sort of phenomenon that would nearly strike you blind in England. And again, their clergymen are taken from a different class to what those performing similar duties in this country are sprung from; they are generally the sons of farmers, and not unfrequently of the workmen of those farmers, toiling through the summer to acquire the means of maintaining them at the university in the winter. In that country, then, owing to their condition being very nearly equal, there is no room for absurd distinctions. Few attempt to escape from that which must be the means of gaining a living; and which, so far from being a degradation, is looked upon as perfect honour.

How I could multiply instances, if it were necessary, of learning and labour being quite cousins! Look at poor Burns, a better poet and ploughman never existed; or look at yourself; why, even in your own person, you give the lie to your own doctrine. If the King to-morrow would put his hand to the plough, and regularly do a little in that way, ploughing would be a profession for gentlemen in a short time. Now, according to your definition of education, or rather the definition of the crabbed, cross-grained, pedantic old devil

who formerly lived in your court; according to his definition, to rear, to breed, or lead up, will apply to any impression made upon the sentient being, whether it be by reading, or roaring at cattle. And it was to this comprehensive definition a philosopher alluded, when he declared, that the education of man commenced upon the very first protrusion of his nose into this world. The thief who is hung at the Old Bailey, and the more lucky individual who may figure as a writer and a statesman, are equally the products of circumstance and education. Education, then, does not consist merely in book knowledge; that, in fact, forms but a slight portion of it. The man is like a feather in the ocean; he is at the mercy of every circumstance, of every breath of air that plays around him; modified by minute operating causes, of the influence of which at the very time they are producing the change, he is entirely unconscious, and therefore, when the effect has taken place, it is no wonder he is unable to refer to them at a more removed period. The industry of man, then, must be applied in such a manner to the *rudis indigestaque moles* of circumstances, as to strike out and direct those which may tend to a good education: and that is a good education, which produces the greatest possible quantity of happiness to mankind; and that produces the greatest happiness, which teaches to each individual member of the race, the necessity of studying the general welfare, in order to secure his own; this, together with securing to man the whole return to his labour, as nearly as may be consistent with carrying on the machinery of society, would answer all the purposes of men, whether you call it a religious, a devilish, or a moral education. You state one objection which you entertain to a general system of education, to be, the principles of baseness of spirit and meek surrender to the domination of their cruel lash-masters, it would produce. I think this fear is ungrounded. Error is a sort of negative term, simply implying the absence of truth; and the former as soon melts before the latter,

as ice melts before sunshine. A very near relation of my own, for many years entertained a most virulent prejudice against Cobbett and all his works; and although at one time he would have fired up against any one who should have mentioned his name with respect, he is now very frequently falling by the ears with people in his defence. Only let men read, and some how or other they manage to poke out the right subject. A few sentences more, and I shall conclude. You attack the Lord Chancellor, because he has asserted, that information tends to diminish the violence which has been the usual accompaniment of crimes; and his statement, that three-fifths of the crimes committed in Russia were accompanied by violence, whilst on the other hand, only one-twelfth of those perpetrated in Pennsylvania were accompanied by violence, you describe as crawling out at a hole; and, indeed, in this part of the matter, you appear to have stepped into one. After alluding to his wonderful head for analogy, you attempt to do a little in the same line; but, unfortunately, are not very successful. The sheepish contests for grass and turnips, you describe with your usual *naïveté*, and you then pass on to a canine contest for bones, and upon some one objecting to the illustration, you declare that there is the same relationship between Pennsylvanians and Russians as there is between sheep and dogs; affirming, that the former are the most quiet and gentle of God's creatures, and the latter an assemblage of the most brutal and ferocious wretches in the world. Now, there is no similarity between sheep and dogs and Pennsylvanians and Russians; inasmuch, as sheep, from their natural organization, are formed only to feed on, and be nourished by, vegetable substances; and dogs are equally well adapted to lead a carnivorous existence. The organization of the latter adapts them for barking, snapping, biting, and tearing, and until you can prove that the organization of the Russian differs as much from the Pennsylvanian as that of the dog from the sheep—that the

ferocity of the Russian is *innate* and the meekness of the Pennsylvanian is *innate*, the simile will not hold for a moment. The character of either of these races, then, being entirely formed after their birth, and their bodies possessing precisely the same organs, exercising precisely the same functions, it follows, of course, that the character of each must have been formed by his situation and circumstances. That the ferocity of the Russian is owing to an absence of a favourable education, and the meekness of the Pennsylvanian to a culture more calculated to superinduce meekness; and if crime has increased as knowledge has increased, it has been no more cause and effect, than my writing this letter to-night can be said to be the cause of my feeling hungry to-morrow at breakfast time. All crime may be at last traced to a deficiency of food to the parties committing crime, if not, we must suppose man to be actuated by a propensity of picking and stealing, as a quality in his very essence. *You* say, that want springs from idleness, and that from heddekashun; but this I think I have disposed of in the instance of Scotland. However, I have so trespassed on your time, that I find I must actually conclude here. But, from the interest I take in most that comes from your original brain, I could not forbear trespassing thus far. Reading, as I take it, is only receiving men's thoughts from paper, instead of getting them *viva voce*. Those thoughts are apt to be more polished and temperate than uttered thoughts, from the deference which every man must feel for the opinions of his fellow-men, and the written thoughts being much more disseminated among his fellow-men than those merely spoken. Ordinary discrimination will be sufficient to enable a man to pitch on the proper books, and common sense will direct him when to use them. If he even makes an election of unprofitable works, he does no more than betray his incapability of judging between good and evil; and, therefore, if he had remained an unlettered man, he would have displayed the same taste in his

choice of friends or companions. With an earnest and most sincere wish that your strong constitution, aided by your general habits of temperance, will preserve you many, many years longer in the exercise of those powers which are the terror of the placemen, pensioners, Jews, jobbers, mumping old devils of maids, and housekeepers that have robbed their masters; and that your existence in the other world, when you are called there, may be as happy, as it has been useful in this, is the prayer of
A. M.

P. S. I think you may soon think about relenting a little towards the Israelites, for they have commenced working. A friend lately returned from New South Wales, tells me that Ikey Solomons is dragging a plough. Now you have generally considered a ploughman placed between the trams, and merely guiding, the most useful of men, but evidently Ikey goes before the latter, for he is in the traces.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

SEEDS.

ITALIAN CLOVER.

I HAVE received an account from Mr. HAYLEY, of LIVERPOOL, enabling me to state the price of the Italian clover seed; and I have come to this determination with regard to the price, which will be as follows:—

For a single pound	1s. 6d.
For ten pounds	12s. 6d.
For twenty pounds	22s. 6d.
For thirty pounds or upwards,	1s. per pound.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound; above 100lbs. 6d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made

due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 7d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs. 6d. a pound.

GARDEN SEEDS.

There will be two sizes of bags, one for a *large* garden and one for a *small* one; the latter will contain half the quantity of the former. The price of the former, 25s.; the price of the latter, 12s. 6d.; always *ready money*. It is impossible for any man to raise such an assortment of *true* seeds in any *one* garden; and, if he *could do it*, the doing of it would cost him *six times the sum* that I sell these seeds at.

Any person who purchases *ten bags*, will pay the price of *eight*, and, if twenty bags, will pay the price of *fifteen*; and if 100, pay for 60. The bags will be so strongly done up that they can be sent with safety to any part of the kingdom or of the world, and each bag will have on it, or in it, *a card*, with these words, in *fac-simile* of my hand-writing: "GARDEN SEEDS, RAISED, in 1833, BY WM COBBETT, M. P. FOR OLDHAM." And my constituents will remember, that *La charrue, l'épee et la plume ne dérogent pas*.

The following is the list of my seeds, which contains the KNIGHT-PEA, not contained in my list of last year. The EARLY-FRAME pea is the very quickest in corning that I ever saw in my life; and I think I can defy all the world for cabbage seed, though I have not got it, even yet, into that state of perfection that I shall have it next year.

KITCHEN-GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long Pod.
4. Early Masagan,
5. Kidney (or French). Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.

7. Bean—Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cape.
15. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
16. Early York.
17. Savoy.
18. Cale—Curled—Scotch.
19. Carrot.
20. Cauliflower.
21. Celery.
22. Chervil.
23. Cress.
24. Cucumber, early frame.
25. Corn (Cobbett's).
26. Endive.
27. Leek.
28. Lettuce—White Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Mustard—White.
31. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
32. Onion.
33. Parsnip.
34. Parsley—Curled.
35. Knight-Pea.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).

FLOWER SEEDS.

44. Canterbury Bells.
45. Catch Fly.
46. China-asters.
47. Convolvulus—Dwarf.
48. Indian Pink.
49. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
50. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
51. Poppy—Carnation.
52. French.
53. Stock, Scarlet, ten-week.
54. Mignonette.
55. Sweetwilliam.
56. Sweet Pea.
57. Venus's Looking-glass.
58. Virginia Stock.
59. Wall-flower.

CISALPINE STRAWBERRY.

I HAVE had none of this strawberry-seed to sell this year, owing to the removal of my gardening things from KENSINGTON. I have had no convenience for raising the plants from seed this year. I have read, in the newspapers, that Mr. DOUBLEDAY, of NEWCASTLE, gathered a dish of strawberries on the 1. of this month of December, from plants raised from the seed which was sold by me; and I know that Sir CHARLES WOLSELEY had them in great abundance all through the months of October and November. He has had the goodness to send me a large parcel of plants, raised this year from seed, and I have sent small parcels of them, by coach, to gentlemen that I know in several counties, knowing, of course, that they will, next year, distribute the plants amongst their neighbours. The ground should be dug well, the plants put in immediately, and firmly put in the ground, a *single plant* in a place, and at two feet distance from each other in every direction, and the planter will have strawberries, if he keep the ground clean, and nicely hoed, from the first week in July, till the hard frosts come, come when they may.—I have sent a copy of this paper with all the parcels of strawberry-plants.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

ROBERTS, T., York-street, Westminster, tallow-chandler.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

ACKER, W., sen., Woolaston, Gloucestershire, farmer.

BANKRUPTS.

ACTON, T., Angel-court, Friday-street, warehouseman.

ATKIN, W., Halifax, Yorkshire, ironfounder.

BAGSHAW, G., Sheffield, cutler.

BOYN, J. and J., Jewry-street, Crutched-friers, wine-merchants.

DARWIN, S. and T., Sheffield, roller-manufacturers.

DICK, R., Hanover-street, Hanover-square, tailor.

DONNISON, W., Tash-street, Gray's Inn-lane, licensed victualler.

FLITCROFT, S., and T. Musgrove, Liverpool, grate-manufacturers.

GAY, T. A., Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, law-stationer.

HALL, R., Birmingham, slate-merchant.

HAYDAY, R., Milk-street, silk-warehouseman.

JONES, S., Old Cavendish-street, Marylebone, tailor.

LANE, J., Strand, cheesemonger.

STORER, J. and W. H., Brierly-hill, Staffordshire, grocers.

THOMPSON, W., Birmingham, provision-dealer.

WILSON, W., and E. Broadribb, Mark-lane, merchants.

WORSEY, E., Aston, near Birmingham, blank-tray-maker.

TUESDAY, DEC. 24, 1833.

BANKRUPTS.

ASHFORD, C. S., now or late of Tottenham, Middlesex, and Abchurch-lane, City, scrivener and bill-broker.

BROAD, J. and J., Spring Vale Ironworks, Sedgley, Staffordshire, iron-manufacturers.

CANNELL, J. G., East Dereham, Norfolk, saddler and harness-maker.

CHAPMAN, J., Feltwell, Norfolk, shop-keeper.

GOODING, W. T., Dorville's-row, Hammer-smith, and Welbeck-street, plumber and glazier.

REED, S., Eastbourne, Sussex, draper and grocer.

SEGRE, M. J., Liverpool, merchant.

SHAKSPEARE, W., Devizes, hatter and mercer.

WELBOURNE, C. E., Falkington, Lincolnshire, schoolmaster and coach-proprietor.

WILSON, H., Norwich, tobacconist.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Dec. 23.—The arrivals of grain, from the home counties, fresh up to this morning's market, were very limited. These in addition, however, to the samples left over from last week, particularly of Oats, caused the supplies to be more than equal to the demand. The dampness of the weather had materially affected the qualities of the Wheat;—fine dry parcels were, in consequence, readily taken by the millers at rather better prices than this day se'nnight, in some instances 1s. more money being realized; but secondary sorts, and those coarse and out of condition, must be noted 1s. cheaper, and even at this reduction, were very difficult to quit. Old Wheat obtained fully last Monday's

rates, but in bonded Corn we heard of nothing doing.

Though Barley was in moderate supply, yet the demand proved very limited; fine malting qualities were unaltered in value, but secondary descriptions of malting, as well as distilling, were the turn cheaper than on Monday last. Grinding parcels without alteration.

Malt extremely dull and nearly unsaleable, without submitting to lower terms.

The show of Oats was large. Good fresh English and Irish samples met a slow retail demand at last week's prices, but stale qualities might have been bought at reduced rates. Scotch Oats being in plentiful supply, receded 6d. to 1s. per qr.

Beans were very heavy sale, and 1s. cheaper.

White Peas, owing to the admission of nearly 2,000 qrs. of foreign qualities last Thursday, at a duty of 8s., caused boiling samples to rule dull, at a decline of 1s. per qr. Maple and Grey barely maintained last week's quotations

The Flour trade was steady. Good Irish marks obtained a better sale, and ship qualities also met inquiry.

Wheat	50s. to 59s.
Rye	—s. to —s.
Barley	25s. to 27s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	—s. to —s.
— Boilers	40s. to —s.
— Grey	33s. to 37s.
Beans, Small	34s. to 39s.
— Tick	30s. to 34s.
Oats, Potato	24s. to 26s.
— Feed	19s. to 21s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Pork, India, new	90s. to 95s.
— Mess, new ...	56s. to 62s. per barl.
Butter, Belfast	80s. to 82s. per cwt.
— Carlow	80s. to 84s.
— Cork	70s. to 71s.
— Limerick ..	69s. to 71s.
— Waterford ..	70s. to 75s.
— Dublin	66s. to 68s.

SMITHFIELD, December 23.

This day's market exhibited, throughout, for that of a Monday, a very limited supply; but, owing to both carcass and most of the chance-trade butcher's shops still containing a considerable part of their last week's supply, and the unfavourableness of the weather for slaughtering, trade was, with each kind of meat, exceedingly dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

At least three-fourths of the beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and short-horns; and the remaining fourth of about equal numbers of Scots, Welsh runts, and Irish beasts, a few Town's-

end Cows, Sussex beasts, Staffords, &c. About 600 of the Herefords, Devons, and short-horns, with a few of the Scots, were fresh in from Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and the rest of our northern districts; upwards of 300 of ditto, the surplus of Friday's market; about 20, chiefly Devons and runts, from the westward; about 100, chiefly Scots and Devons, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 20 from Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, and most of the remainder, which consisted of but few of any breed, from the stall feeders in the neighbourhood of London.

A full moiety of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the South Down and white-faced crosses; about an eighth South Downs; and the remaining three-eighths about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few horned and polled Norfolks, old Lincolns, horned Dorsets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh sheep, &c.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Dec. 27.

The arrivals this week are fair. The prices much the same as on Monday, with a dull market.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	—	—	—	—	—	—

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